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ADDRESS

OF

THE HONORABLE EDWARD C. STOKES

FORMER GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY

AT THE

250th

TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH
ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

OF

THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY OF BURLINGTON,
COLONY OF NEW JERSEY.

E. C. Stokes

Delivered in

The City of Burlington, N. J., U. S. A.

Wednesday Evening, October 12, 1927.

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F Stokes, Edward Casper, 1860-

Address of the Honorable Edward C. Stokes...at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary celebration of the founding of the city of Burlington, colony of New Jersey... [Burlington, N.J., 1927]

SHELF CARD

Cover-title.

"Authorities consulted by the speaker": p.34.

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While waiting for my place on the program I have been diagnosing the staying power of my audience. You know, in a Quaker meeting, no one ever leaves until after the preacher has finished, no matter how long the sermon, and it is the happy custom of that denomination that no one ever speaks unless the spirit moves him. During the last three or four weeks, in the intervals between my duties as a banker, as a public man, as a church worker, a speaker and party worker, the spirit has been tuning on me and filled my head with a sermon requiring at least an hour and a half for delivery,—if I don't forget it. As a Methodist, I believe in the itinerant ministry but I don't enjoy talking to an itinerant audience. I therefore crave your indulgence while I tell in faltering way the story written by the early colonists of this community—the finest story of religious and civil liberty the world has ever read.

I trust that in my remarks I shall not offend the departed. John Drew tells the incident of a young actor who essayed the part of Hamlet. When the performance was over the young tragedian asked Drew for his criticism. "Well," said Drew, "Do you want the truth?" and on receiving an affirmative reply Drew said, "It was horrible. It made Shakespeare turn over in his grave." "I am sorry," said the young man, "I shall never play the part again." "Oh, yes," said Drew, "play it once more so that Shakespeare can turn back again and be comfortable."

I shall speak long enough tonight to enable our Quaker ancestors to turn over in their graves and then turn back and be comfortable.

The Roman poet, Virgil, opens his well-known *Æneid* by saying:

I sing of the arms and the man who first from
shores of Troy to Italy came,
A wanderer by fate (and to the Levinian shores)
Buffeted exceedingly both on land and sea,
By the power of the gods.

Thus he commemorates the mythical founding of the Great City of Rome.

You and I today discourse of a simpler folk, not valorous in arms, but valorous in principle and faith, the outstanding apostles of a new humanity, a new freedom and a new spirit of tolerance unsurpassed in any age.

It was a period of adventure. Drake and Magellan had circled the globe. Vasco Da Gama had found a new way to India and brought back spices and merchandise to Europe that before the fall of Constantinople, came by way of Venice and Genoa. The Cavalier had settled at Jamestown. The Pilgrims and Puritans had founded the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay. In 1630 fifteen hundred people, in seventeen ships, came to Massachusetts and Charleston and Boston, Cambridge, Roxbury and Dorchester sprang into being. Dutch trading posts had been established in Albany since 1614.

Fort Nassau on the Delaware was founded ten years later and from Albany to the Delaware, the Dutch carried on fur trading with the Indians. St. Augustine had been established in 1525. The Swedes had gone up the Delaware in 1638, to be supplanted in a few years by the Holland Dutch. Providence, the child of Roger Williams, was started in 1637, Hartford the year before. Two years after that, the republic of Connecticut was established with the first written constitution in America, and New Haven the year before that.

Here in New Jersey, Bergen County had settlers in 1617, Elizabeth in 1665, Newark about the same time, and Middletown, Woodbridge, Piscataway and Shrewsbury were well inhabited and furnished comfortable entertainment for strangers and travelers. George Fox had made a journey across New Jersey in 1672, Jesuit missionaries had pushed to the West and looked on the broad waters of the Mississippi on the 17th of June 1673.

These are but shifting pictures taken as it were from an aeroplane, a bird's eye view of the new land to which

Europe was flocking for adventure, for gold, for commerce, for settlement and for the worship of God according to the dictates of conscience. This, therefore, was not a new or unknown country. Europe talked of it, dreamed of and fought over it. The mystery of distance lured the courageous and the dissatisfied to what in the imagination was an Eldorado for every ill and the hope of every troubled people across the Atlantic.

For fifty years at least the waters of the Delaware had been vexed by the ships of Dutch and Swede and the English and the Leni-Lenape Indians had seen the smoke of new settlements, prophetic of the doom of the redskin's sovereignty. To this land, so peopled and so explored, came in the good ship *Kent* in 1677 the Quaker folk who founded Burlington, two hundred and fifty years ago. The conditions of this new territory are described in letters of the new inhabitants:

"It was a land of promise, a country that produced all things necessary for the support and sustenance of man in a plentiful manner. Orchards laden with fruit—limbs broken with the weight—delicious in taste and lovely to behold, apples, peaches in plenty, cherries, strawberries, cranberries brought to the houses by the Indians. Venison and fowl, plover, quail, ducks, geese, turkeys, pheasants, partridges and wild pigeons came in such numbers that the limbs of the trees, in some instances, were broken: fish, herring, rock, shad, seabass, sheep's head and sturgeon,—beef and pork in plenty—pasturage that fattened the cattle and the herds."*

Said Mahlon Stacy, in a letter written in 1680 to English friends in Sheffield:—"I know not one among the people that desires to be in England again for they are better off than their Yorkshire people who have nothing at the year's end where here they might know better things."**

"Burlington will be a place of trade quickly for last winter (1779) I with eight more brought a ketch of fifty

* Proprietors 1682—page 539.

** Proprietors 1682—page 114.

tons to trade from here to the Barbadoes (114) for a cargo of salt and goods, a voyage she accomplished very well and now lies before Burlington discharging her laden cargo to be freighted out with our own corn."

Thus in that early day, two years after its founding, Burlington had become a port of export.

"We have wanted nothing," continues Stacy, "since we came hither but the company of our good friends and acquaintances and all our people are in a hopeful way to live much better than they ever did and to provide well for their posterity.

Gawen Laurie wrote to the East Jersey Proprietors at London: "There is not a poor body in all the province, nor that wants; here is abundance of provision, pork and beef at two pence per pound; fish and fowl aplenty; oysters I think would serve all England; wheat four shillings sterling per bushel; Indian wheat two shillings and six pence per bushel; it is exceedingly good for food every way and two or three hundred fold increase; cider good and plenty, for one penny per quart. Good beer that is made of water and molasses, stands in about two shillings per barrel, wholesome like our eight shilling beer in England (What would those good Quakers do today under the present prohibitive conditions? Yet I suspect that notwithstanding their beer we shall meet them in Heaven. There is where God is more just than some of the people on earth.); good venison plenty, brought us in at eighteen pence the quarter; eggs at three pence per dozen, all things very plenty. Farm houses are built very cheap. They have all the materials for nothing except nails. Two or three men in one year will clear 50 acres.

"People here want nothing yet their labor is small. They do not work so hard by one-half as the husbandmen in our own country.

"Trees abound, oak, beech, walnut, chestnut—chestnuts and acorns lying thick upon the ground—cedar, poplar, pine, birch, beech, orchards of fruit trees. Provisions here

are very plentiful and cheap. There is beef, pork, venison, mutton, fowl and fish to be had at easy rates, good beer and cider, also wine of several sorts and other kinds of strong liquor. There was enough to sell abroad.

"Horse, beef, pork, lumber, flour, cereals, butter and cheese were also exported to the Barbadoes, Jamaica and adjacent shores as well as to Portugal, Spain, and the Canaries, and furs were shipped to England."*

So runs the testimony of the inhabitants.

Our conception of the lives of the early settlers was born of the tales of struggles and hardships which make better reading in our history and romances than did a picture of yon placid river, with rich pasturage, with flowers and vines and trees and abundance of fruit to be had almost for the asking. The truth, however, is that it was a land where none but the indolent need want and where the provident and the thrifty lived in comfort and ease in a patrician and pastoral elegance that always blesses those who are first upon the ground to take of nature's bountiful store.

The contrast between those early days when the sturgeon and the shad were so plentiful that they crowded the banks of the river, and the scanty supply of our times is only a repetition of the history of civilization's advance, where men live at first on the liberality of nature's gifts and then, as in our generation, have to contend with soil impoverished by man's prodigality, with forest denuded by the ax, game destroyed with ruthless hand and the fisheries well nigh exhausted by pollution and waste.

We cannot fail to draw a moral as we pass over this picture of nature's plenty, as our country was when the first settlers came, to the hour of our gathering when we are striving to reforest our denuded lands, restock our rivers and ponds, save what little wild life there is left and breed anew to bring back the abundance, now fast disappearing, our fathers saw at their very doors.

The nomadic life of the Hebrew people tells the story

* Authority SH-541.

of how nature feeds her sons and how her sons destroy nature's abundance, by taking and preserving not, and then moving on to new and fertile fields.

Our early ancestors were welcomed here by the hospitality of food and plenty. Starvation and want were not as a rule with them a problem. Your Quaker ancestors and my Quaker ancestors, therefore, came to a land of plenty and established settlements that laughed at the wilderness in all its terror and its loneliness.

It was a time of courage and conviction, not an age of time servers or opportunists. Those in power imprisoned or killed the dissenters, the heretics and the apostles of new ideas and the latter died or suffered incarceration for their faith. Both sides had convictions and a loyalty to principle as they saw it, upon which this day and generation can look with a reverence that is observed mostly in the breach, either in the failure to take sides on the problems of the hour or to wait to see who is to be the winner.

When one considers that most of the early good Quakers who came to this land had been in jail for their faith, William Penn on several occasions, all because of their adherence to what they considered to be the right, and when you set over against this magnificent type of character out of which heroes and martyrs are made, the men and women of our day, who living as sovereigns in a free country, refuse to the extent of 50 per cent of their numbers, and sometimes more, to go to the polls and cast their ballots in the performance of their duty,—the difference between the manhood of that generation and the slackers of today does not argue well for the future or compare well with the past.

The man who will not perform his civic duties subserviently sacrifices his rights to the few who will. They in turn become the ruling power and then the poor pitiful deserter of his obligations in order to silence the voice of conscience, shakes his potentless protest at the political boss whom his neglect has created and whom his neglect has made necessary.

In Europe those who dissented from the prevailing faith and custom were burned at the stake. In England they were sent to prison or to the stocks and their ears lopped off, in most cases without the use of anesthetics.

These two classes, the people who thus suffered and their persecutors could not dwell together and live, and so the separation naturally came and America was the promised land for every new faith and longing for a new freedom. The Pilgrims and Puritans in Massachusetts, the Quakers in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the Cavaliers in Virginia, the Catholics in Maryland, the Scotch-Irish who clung to the mountains from Pittsburg to the Carolinas all came here to escape the suffering and persecution at home and to find a land where they might live and walk with their God or with their government in their own way. Living had become intolerable abroad to many and these had the courage to brave an unknown sea and an unknown habitation away from homes and friends for the faith that was in them.

We of our day and generation "rather brave the ills we have than fly to ills we know not of," and the Wets and Drys of our time live together and make faces at one another, one accusing the other of bigotry and the other accusing the one of law breaking and treason and neither has the courage to settle the problem or to move off to a new land where they can enjoy their views in peace.

How the times have changed! The Quakers and the Catholics were both victims of hostile ecclesiastical power. In England, during the protectorate of Cromwell, though the great commoner was disposed to be kindly, between 1650 and 1658 several hundred Quakers were put in jail for breaches of etiquette and custom, and George Fox, who was in jail eight times, was imprisoned because he refused to take arms against Charles II. The restoration of Charles the II in 1660 brought a new era of trouble and punishment to this gentle sect. They had no ecclesiastical organizations and their preachers seemed like vagrant ranters

just as did our Salvation Army gatherings when in the early days they were viewed with contempt. The refusal of the Quakers to pay tithes or testify under oath, or lift their hats for a magistrate of the Court made them subjects of derision and punishment. We cannot, however, indict the reign of this merry monarch as the sole persecutor of the Quakers, for the Quaker found no more welcome in the colony of Massachusetts or Virginia than he did in his English home.

The refusal of the Quakers to take the oath of allegiance cost them dear in England. Many were sent to Barbadoes or Jamaica or they were sold into temporary slavery like the white servants of Virginia.* In 1662 it was forbidden, under the Conventicle Act, for more than five people to gather together for religious services except under the laws of the established church. This made it easy to arrest the Quakers, for where six or more of them held a meeting they were violating the law. William Penn in 1680 presented to the King and Parliament a compilation of their sufferings; ten thousand had been in prison, two hundred and forty-three had died there, two-thirds of the estates of a large number had been confiscated under the plea they were papists in disguise, exorbitant fines had been imposed, as many as four thousand were in jail at one time, it cost something to be a Quaker in those days, and yet the society was growing rapidly.

After explaining how easy it was to break up the worship of other denominations by abstracting some of their machinery, Masson who wrote the life of John Milton, says "Not so a Quaker meeting, where men and women were worshipping with their hearts and without implements in silence as well as in speech. You may break in upon them, hoot at them, roar at them, drag them about; the meeting, if it is of any size, essentially still goes on until all the component individuals are murdered. Throw them out of the door in twos and threes, and they but re-enter the window,

* Authority, Fiske.

and quietly resume their places. Pull their meeting-house down, and they re-assemble the next day most punctually, amid the broken walls and rafters. Shovel sand or earth upon them, and there they still sit, a sight to see, musing immovably among the rubbish. This is no description from fancy. It was the actual practice of the Quakers all over the country. They held their meetings regularly, perseveringly, and without the least concealment, keeping the doors of their meeting-houses purposely open, that all might enter, informers, constables, or soldiers and do whatever they chose. In fact, the Quakers behaved magnificently. By their peculiar methods of open violation of the law, and passive resistance only, they rendered a service to the common cause of all non-conformist sects which has never been sufficiently acknowledged. The authorities had begun to fear them as a kind of super-natural folk, and knew not what to do with them, but cram them into gaols, and let them lie there. In fact, the gaols in those days were less places of punishment for criminals than receptacles for a great proportion of what was bravest and most excellent in the manhood and womanhood of England."

Under these conditions of persecution in one of the dark hours of terror occurred an act almost unparalleled except that divine act of the Saviour on the Cross. Some who were free, marched to Westminster Hall, offered themselves to Parliament as hostages and agreed to suffer vicariously, as they said in their petition—"In love to our brethren that lie in prisons and houses of correction and dungeons, and many in fetters and irons and have been cruelly beat by the cruel gaolers, and many have been persecuted to death and have died in prisons and straw, 'we' do offer up our bodies and selves to you for you to put as Lambs, into the same dungeons and houses of correction, and their straw and nasty holes, and prisons and do stand ready a sacrifice for to go into their places that they may go forth and not die in prison as many of the brethren are dead already. For we are willing to lay down our lives for our brethren and

to take their sufferings upon us that you would inflict upon them. . . . And if you will receive our bodies which we freely tender to you for our Friends that are now in prison for speaking the truth in several places, for not paying tithes, for meeting together in the fear of God, for not swearing, for wearing their hats, for being accounted as vagrants, for visiting friends and for things of a like nature, we whose names are hereunto subscribed, being a sufficient number are waiting in Westminster Hall for an answer from you to us, to answer our tenders and to manifest our love to our Friends and to stop the wrath and judgment from coming to our enemies."

Among this noble band of men who thus offered themselves to Parliament were some who were afterwards settlers in Burlington.

Henry Armitt Brown, a descendant of an ancestor who came over in the good ship *Kent*, just as the speaker this evening is descended from passengers in the same ship. Henry Armitt Brown, the eloquent speaker on the 200th Anniversary of the founding of Burlington, in an oration which I cannot hope to equal, said of this incident:

"I know of few things in the history of the English race more noble than this act. No poet has made it the subject of his eulogy, and even the historians of civil and religious liberty have passed it by. But surely never did the groined arches of that ancient hall look down upon a nobler spectacle. They had seen many a more splendid and brilliant one, but none more honorable than this. They had looked down on balls and banquets and coronations and the trial of a king, but never, since they were hewn from their native oak, did they behold a sight more honorable to human nature than that of these humble Quaker groups below. They had rung with the most eloquent voices that ever spoke the English tongue, but never before heard such words as these."*

* Authority, Henry Armitt Brown's Oration, delivered in Burlington December 6, 1877 pages 18-19.

"Well done, disciple of the shoemaker of Nottingham! No prince or king ever spoke braver words than these! What matter if your Parliament send back for answer soldiers with pikes and muskets to drive you out into the street? Go forth content! What if your brethren languish and die in gaol? You shall not long be parted. What if the times be troubled and nights of sorrow follow days of suffering? They cannot last forever. What if the heathen rage and the swords of the wicked be drawn against you? The peace within you they cannot take away. The world may note you little and history keep no record of your life. Your kindred may pass you by in silence and your name be unremembered by your children. No man may know your resting place. But what of that? You have done one of those things that ennoble humanity—and by one at least, who saw it, you will not be unrewarded nor forgotten!*

These were the kind of people, these the heroic characters who sailed the seas and laid the foundation of the city whose hospitality we now enjoy. Burlington sprang from noble sires. May we hope that the generations of today are worthy of the pious heroism and martyrdom of their ancestors and that they have kept their ideals unsullied and undefiled.

William Penn may be taken as an exemplar of the Quaker type. Born in 1644, his father was an admiral in the navy of the commonwealth, and afterwards a sworn Friend of Charles the II. He was connected through his mother with the wealthy merchants of Rotterdam.

His conversion was unlike Saul's in that he had never persecuted Christ. Like Saul's it came in his loneliness when to his soul came the conviction of inward comfort and of communion with the Master. He felt he had been called to the holy life as Saul was called to the Services of God, and like Paul, he traveled over Europe, perhaps covering as wide a field in spreading his new gospel, from the Tiber

* Authority, "The Settlement of Burlington"—Henry Armitt Brown's Oration, page 20.

to the Euphrates, from London to Jerusalem. He studied at Christ Church, Oxford, was a great scholar and an athlete. He moved in the best society, was a skillful swordsman. He studied law, he spoke Latin, Italian, German and Dutch fluently and was a lover of Greek. He could baffle a Prosecutor in a trial court and confound the Judge. His learning and eloquence made converts, and his cause was helped by his courage,—thrown into prison again and again, sometimes for months, sometimes in the tower like a gentleman, once for six months in noisome Newgate with common criminals, he never faltered in his mission. His father disowned him but Penn never wavered nor weakened in his precepts and the old naval hero admiring his dauntless courage forgave him and called him home.

His father told him he did not dare carry out his principles in the presence of the King or the Duke of York, but William did wear his hat in the presence of the merry monarch and the King took off his. "Why doth thou remove thy hat Friend Charles," quoth the young man. "Because," said the King, "Wherever I am, it is customary for only one to remain covered."

When the Bishop of London sent word to him in the tower that he must either withdraw certain statements or die, "Tell him," said Penn, "that my prison shall be my grave before I will budge a jot, for I owe the obedience of my conscience to no mortal man." He did not need to be a crusader to fill life's void. In his estate at Worminghurst in Sussex, overlooking the beautiful South Downs, he had all that makes life delightful—books, flowers, cultured friends, the supreme restfulness of rural England with its temperate sunshine, its gentle showers and tonic fragrance of salt sea. These things he did not seek. These he gave up for the cause. He sacrificed things temporal for things spiritual.

Scholarly, eloquent, courageous, of the highest social standing, absolutely devoted to the new faith, Penn could not fail to succeed. It was men of this type who suffered

imprisonment for their religion, and made up the Quaker sect.

Few people in the course of history have ever learned charity through suffering.

Mostly when they have been granted power they have turned persecutors themselves. The sophomores haze the freshmen and then when the freshmen become sophomores, they in turn haze the incoming freshmen, just as the Puritans in Massachusetts, once victims of bigotry, burned, exiled and persecuted, when they were in power. The Quakers have proven an exception to this rule. In prosperity and adversity, in power and in servitude they have been consistently gentle. They have done as they would be done by and they have treated their inferiors or superiors with a courtesy and kindness and good faith that made the Indians love them and all the world hold them in reverence and respect. They have kept faith under all skies, and in all conditions and before they established their colony at Burlington they had written their tolerance and humanity into that famous document known as the Concessions and Agreements of the proprietors, freeholders and inhabitants of West Jersey in America. Signed by one hundred and forty noble names, it is an outstanding charter of human liberty and toleration. Read it by comparison.

The famous Mayflower Compact was a brief, incomplete covenant, so far as specific regulations were concerned, though a solemn declaration of loyalty, sentiment and ideals. It was not influential however in overcoming individual prejudices and in New England, the Plymouth colony that gave it birth was absorbed by the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1691.

Massachusetts drove Roger Williams and the Quakers from their province. They allowed no one to be a member of the body politic unless they belonged to the church they recognized. Episcopalians were beyond the pale. They lopped off ears, they burned witches in the name of law and religion and their persecutions were as dogmatic and as

relentless as those they had suffered in their European domicile. Massachusetts was a theocracy and united church and state.

Under the Virginia charter, Catholics were driven out of that province, and Quakers found no welcome and Virginia and the Puritans made war on Maryland and fought a battle near what is now Annapolis.

Most of the colonies regarded any other religious doctrine than their own as a deadly sin.

Not so the Quakers. Like a beacon light over the storm tossed seas, they sent a message of tolerance, liberty, humanity and brotherhood that was to be realized in the fruit of the revolution and the birth of the Constitution.

The principles of the great organic law of our country are to be found in the Concessions and Agreements adopted and amplified by the settlers of Burlington. Placed side by side with the famous Bill of Rights of our Constitution, it anticipated the former 113 years by a declaration of principles of personal liberty perhaps infringed upon, but certainly not improved in the years that have passed.

The right of trial by jury by men of the neighborhood, a jury of the vicinage; the principle that no proprietor, freeholder or inhabitant of the province be deprived of life, limb, liberty or estate of property or privileges, freedoms, or franchise without due trial, or without due process of law, are the same as the Bill of Rights except in phraseology.

Prohibition against the levying of any tax, custom or assessment or any other duties whatsoever without the consent of the General Assembly anticipated the declaration "No taxation without representation." No proprietor, freeholder or inhabitant was to be attached, arrested or imprisoned except in criminal or treasonable cases without a reasonable summons which he should have at least fourteen days to answer. This provided against unreasonable searches and seizures, a feature of the Bill of Rights now much under discussion.

The protection of the accused under indictment, the right to plead his own case, to punish false witnesses and to have his friends present during the trial in open court threw every safeguard around him and protected him from oppression and slavery.

Religious liberty provided the crowning declaration. Listen to the voices of the past! "No man or number of men on earth have power or authority to rule over men's conscience in religious matters. No person whatsoever shall upon any pretense whatsoever be called in, questioned or in the least hurt either in personal estate or privilege for his opinion, faith or worship toward God in matters of religion."

This declaration of religious liberty shines out like a star in the darkness of the night of prejudice. Prejudice had no place, intolerance was banished. Jew, Catholic, Negro and all religions were permitted on this free Quaker soil. Nowhere else in all the world could there be found such a liberal religious spirit. These concessions were even stronger than the Bill of Rights in their details and phraseology. Neither the great charter of Virginia nor the Mayflower Compact compare with them in liberality, tolerance and the protection of individual rights.

In Massachusetts, there were fifteen crimes punishable by death when in this Quaker colony there were possibly two—murder and treason—and they were referred to the General Assembly for final decision. So sacred was this charter held that it was to be written in every hall of justice within the province and read in solemn manner four times a year in the presence of the people by the Chief Magistrate of the Courts and in the opening and dissolving of the free Assembly, a custom that might be profitably observed in the reading of our Constitution, in our Legislatures and Congress.

The Corrupt Practice Act was anticipated. It was provided that no person or persons shall give any meat, drink, money or money's worth to aid in the election of a member

of the Assembly and such persons so elected shall be disqualified from holding office for seven years. Candidates of today who run on the dollar sign might take notice. In order to prevent intimidation, a secret ballot was provided instead of *vive voce* vote.

Liberty of speech was guaranteed in the Assembly as it is in our Constitution and every member of the Assembly was to be allowed a shilling a day that he may be known as a servant of the people,—sometimes forgotten in this day and generation.

The orphan was not forgotten. His estate, if he had one, was administered by the council in his interest, and if there was no estate, he was cared for by the provisions of a general tax.

The Jewish Code to which the Puritans of Massachusetts clung with moral tenacity and punished accordingly was cast aside by the Quaker sect and in its place was substituted a government based upon humanity, forbearance, charity, the consent of the governed and the equality of men. The charity of Christ was hereafter to take the place of punitive sanction of the Hebrew Law and the Quakers were the ones who wrought this reformation and made love instead of punishment the rule of life.

The importance of this great charter, the Concessions and Agreements, has been overshadowed by the historians of New England, Pennsylvania and Virginia. The work of these states has been heralded in the school rooms of our lands for generations but no Homer has appropriately sounded the praises of this charter of March 3, 1676* which, as Amelia Mott Gummere, one of your townswomen said, "gives the spirit of liberty a wider range than has heretofore been the case in any record of Anglo-Saxon organic law." It was far in advance of anything the world or America had ever seen in the protection of individual freedom, religious liberty and toleration and it embodied all the principles of our famous Bill of Rights. William

* O. S.

Penn was perhaps its anonymous author for Penn had been associated with Locke in the framing of the Charter for the Government of Carolina and when this charter of West Jersey was framed he wrote to Richard Hartshorne from London, 26th of June, 1676, saying "we lay a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as men and Christians that they may not be brought to bondage but by their own consent, for we put the power in the people." How significant these words! Re-echoed over a century and a half later by Abraham Lincoln on the battlefield at Gettysburg. Not only did the Concessions and Agreements anticipate Lincoln and declare for government by the people, but it was exemplified here in practice as nowhere else in America. We take off our hats and we drop our tributes of praise to the most advanced and the most far-seeing of the liberty loving pioneers who came to America and accepted this charter, the Quakers of Burlington.

I do not over-laud the founders of this colony. I am merely according them their just praise in history as the authors of civil, religious and individual liberty, that in other localities existed in the rhetoric of orators and the dreams of historians, but that here was practiced and exemplified.

Field, an authority on jurisprudence, says of this charter of the Quakers: "A finer fabric of free government was never reared. It should be embalmed in the hearts of Jerseymen."

Bancroft says, "The rise of the people called Quakers is one of the memorable events in the history of men."

Cromwell said, "They are a good people whom I cannot bribe with gifts, honors, offices or patronage." Splendid witnesses to the Quakers' contributions to the world.

Unquestionably, their advent marks a new era in the ameliorating effect of the governmental policy of the world. They were the pioneers of government by the people and they completely revolutionized the aristocratic politics of the

day and established the rights of the masses. Our civilization is their gift and history will some day so declare.

President Wilson said: "America did not come out of the South and it did not come out of New England. The characteristic part of America originated in the middle states, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

New Jersey had known Quaker settlements for twenty-five years before Penn. When Fox traveled across the state in 1672 he held a meeting at Shrewsbury numerous attended by Friends from all over the province. It was not therefore a new land to the Quakers. Their kin had been here for years.

The extent of the Quaker influence in the early colonies is worthy of the consideration of the historian.

One famous Quaker, John Archdale, took a prominent part in the making of three American colonies—Maine, North Carolina and South Carolina. He was elected to Parliament in 1698 but his refusal to take the oath cost him his seat.

Contrast this with the situation in America. In the Puritan colonies, the Quakers could not hold office nor could they in the Episcopalian colony of Virginia. In Rhode Island for more than 100 years the Quakers were continually in office and for 36 terms the governorship was held by members of their society. In Pennsylvania they had one of the largest and most influential colonies of the new world. In 1674 they came to West Jersey. Five years later East Jersey passed under their control. Until 1701 they were the only recognized religious denomination in North Carolina. By the middle of the 18th century there were more Quakers in the Western Hemisphere than in Great Britain. They formed half the population of Newport in 1700. They formed a majority of the population on the South Narragansett shore until the middle of the 18th century. At this time there were 3,000 Quakers in the southern section of Massachusetts. About one-third of the inhabitants of one of the sections of Maine and New Hampshire were

Quakers. Lynn, Salem, Newberry, and Hampton had large Quaker meetings. They were largely represented in Long Island by the middle of the 18th century. They were influential in New York City. There were not less than 25,000 Quakers in Philadelphia before the end of this period, not far from 6,000 in New Jersey. There were 3,000 in Maryland, probably 4,000 or 5,000 in Virginia and about the same number in the Carolinas.

The extent of this Quaker influence has not been generally realized.

From 1656 to 1680 Quakerism was an expanding force in the colonies and it is clearly evident from their own writings that at the opening of the eighteenth century, Quaker leaders expected to make their type of religion prevail on the Western Continent. Indeed there is a contrariness of opinion as to whether the Quaker migration to America resulted more from persecutions at home or from a missionary spirit in seeking a new land where their religion could spread and unmolested dwell. At any rate they knew where to select a home.

The Delaware Valley is one of the most beautiful valleys in the world. It had been fought for by the Dutch, by the Swedes and the English and the latter in 1664 finally prevailed and became masters of this disputed territory. It is not necessary to dwell upon the controversies concerning the right of the Duke of York to bestow as he did the Jerseys upon Carteret and Berkeley.

Berkeley fell heir to West Jersey (South Jersey as we call it) and in 1674 he was ready to sell his holdings to the Quakers and the whole of his vast estate was conveyed to John Fenwick and Edward Byllynge, for the paltry sum of one thousand pounds. This marks the entrance of the Quaker into the affairs of government. John Fenwick in 1675 landed first and founded what he called Salem, which meant peace.

Then came the second important colonization in 1677 when the ship *Kent* sailed from London, with 230 passen-

gers, mostly Quakers, landing in August of that year at New Castle, Delaware. The picture of their departure from London, composed as they were of Yorkshire Yeomen and London Friends, was one worthy of the painter's brush.

As they sailed down the Thames, leaving home and friends, what visions, what hopes, what fears, what trustfulness in their God must have animated their souls. One scene often referred to cannot pass repetition—as they moved down the Thames, Charles the II, perhaps with some mystic and prophetic knowledge that the ship carried the seeds of the birth of a new nation, to be conceived in liberty and to be dominant among all the nations, swung his barge in proximity with the outgoing vessel and bestowed his blessings upon his departing Quaker subjects.

Their argument with Governor Andros as to their right to occupy the new territory ended in a compromise that won their point and reveals a Lincoln-like diplomacy and statesmanship. Slowly they rowed up the Delaware to the site of this city already selected for their new home.

The reason for the selection seems to be well grounded. Five years before, George Fox had swum his horse across the Delaware at this spot, had noted it with great particularity, and reported it to Penn, who must have known the location. After the purchase by the Quakers of this reservation, Penn, Laurie, and Lucas, and others had signed a letter to be circulated among the Friends of England, describing with great care and truthfulness the new land, inviting settlers but informing them of exactly what conditions they might face. It is not improbable that the passengers in the ship *Kent* had this spot in mind when King Charles' blessing bade them farewell.

It was the fall of the year and the frost of Autumn had painted the foliage and vines along the banks with the beautiful coloring, flaming yellow, red, gold, copper and tints, that no painter can surpass, color everywhere, deep rich and soft as the silence of the woods. The fragrance of the fruit and vine was on the air. Perhaps the chestnut

burrs lay upon the ground. Now and then an Indian may have peered through the brush or a startled doe may have taken to cover as it caught sight of the advancing Armada that was to breathe a new spirit into the haunts of the wild. Little did the aborigine or invader dream as the silence of the scene was broken by the splash of oars that a hundred years hence, a Jerseyman, John Fitch, would navigate the same course from Philadelphia to Burlington in a boat propelled by steam.

In observance of their principles the Quakers traded with the Indians about lands. Money consideration was not lacking, but the supply of trinkets, Jew's harps, and brass buttons gave out. One purchase had the following items as a consideration: 30 matchcoats, 20 guns, 30 kettles, and one great one, 30 pair of hose, 20 fathom of duffields, 30 petticoats, 30 narrow hoes, 30 bars of lead, 15 small barrels of powder, 70 knives, 30 Indian axes, 70 combs, 60 pair of tobacco tongs, 60 scissors, 69 tinshaw looking glasses, 120 awl blades, 120 fish-hooks, 2 grasps of red paint, 120 needles, 60 tobacco boxes, 120 pipes, 200 bells, 100 Jews' harps, 6 anchors rum.

Purchases were made by commissioners appointed for that purpose. The deed of the land between Rancocas Creek and Timber Creek bears the date of Sept. 10, 1677; that to the lands from Oldman's Creek to Timber Creek, the 27th of Sept.; that to the land from Rancocas Creek to the Assunpink Creek, the 10th of October the same year.

The new pioneers went into winter quarters, erected a tent for a temporary meeting house, and primitive shanties or boarded caves on the banks of the River as temporary dwellings. A carpenter by the name of Marshall was the leading builder of the new town and found his services in great demand. To Richard Noble, a surveyor from Salem, was committed the duty of laying out the town.* Main Street was cut through the forest at right angles to the river, running southward in the country and

* William Matlack's Affidavit Book A, Surveyor General's Office, Burlington.

another (Broad Street) extended east and west through the middle of the island.

The ten Yorkshire Friends or Proprietors took the eastern side and the London Proprietors and Friends the Western side of the dividing line. Other settlers followed. Some late in October, from Wickaco, a Swedish settlement on the Delaware. Then came the ship *Willing Mind* dividing her passengers between Salem and Burlington, the flei boat *Martha* in the same year from Bridlington in England. Then the next year came the well known *Shield* from Hull, the first ship to sail so far up the River as Burlington and anchor to a tree still standing on the shore.

Another ship from London followed and by 1681 there were 1400 people in the colonies.

Many of these early Quakers who came had been in jail in their own country.

Indeed no other town had so many respectable citizens who had been in jail.

William Clayton, Richard Hancock, John Ellis, Richard Guy and Richard Woodmancy were prisoners at different times between 1660 and 1677 in York Castle.*

Christopher Wetherell was in Beverly Jail in 1660.**

"William Peachy, fresh from his trial at Bristol and under sentence of banishment as a convict for attending Meetings, John Kinsey of Hadham in Hertfordshire, himself a prisoner a few years before, and marked among these settlers of Burlington as the first to die, John Cripps, twelve days in a cell in Newgate for "Keeping his hat on in a bold, irreverent manner" when the Lord Mayor passed into Guildhall, Thomas Olive, familiar with the inside of Northampton gaols; John Woolston, his companion in that prison, and Dr. Daniel Wills, tried for banishment for a third offense, and thrice in prison for holding meetings in his house. The last three were all men of note and their

* Authority, Bur. & Mercer Co. History by E. M. Woodward and John F. Hageman.

** Same authority.

joining the London Company had great influence on its history."*

We look back upon them now as martyrs to bigotry, and they were, but their example points a moral. In this day when we are talking about law enforcement, with rhetorical emphasis, although to most people law enforcement means simply enforcement of one provision of the Constitution and its accompanying law, it is well to understand the history of law enforcement and progress. The early Quaker settlers were not law enforcers. They were law violators of their day and generation, just as our patriotic forefathers in '76 were not law enforcers but law violators; else American independence would never have been known. Just as the descendants of these Quaker pioneers were not law enforcers in the days of slavery but violators of the fugitive slave law or the Volstead Act of that day, passed to enforce the slavery provision of the Constitution as the Volstead Act was passed to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment, when these Quakers ran an underground railway and helped the negro slaves to escape, just as the victims of the Spanish Inquisition were not law enforcers but law violators just as every saint and every martyr whom we reverence and worship have not been the law enforcers of their day and generation.

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If the Quakers and our forefathers and the martyred saints and the Wickliffes and the Husses who were burned at the stake in their time, had been law enforcers, the world would have stood still. They were law enforcers in the sense that they had a higher vision than the man who wrote the laws of their day. They were obeying the law of progress which, despite the bitterness of prejudice and the tumult of debate moves on in its majesty and its might to triumph in the birth of a new and a better day.

This lesson of history teaches tolerance of judgment and of view and reminds us that we should observe a Quaker-

* Authority, Henry Armitt Brown's Oration "The Settlement of Burlington," page 33.

like gentleness and hesitate before we denounce the men of today who do not agree with some of the social regulations of the hour, lest the judgment of time reverse the opinion of this generation, just as the judgment of history had vindicated the Quakers who resisted what were considered sacred and religious laws of their time.

I am not preaching non-enforcement of law. Without it government and safety of life end. But I call attention to the fact that progress has been a protest against existing forms and statutes. Let the victims of the Spanish Inquisition, let Galileo in Astronomy forced to recant muttering "But it does move," let the Quakers of King Charles' day, let the fathers of '76, let Jenner, who discovered vaccination, let the pioneers of modern surgery, and germ theory of disease, be called to the witness stand to testify.

It is no diminution of the glory that belongs to the Quakers for the founding of this colony on the rock of civil and religious life that the exponents of other creeds settled there. Rather it is a crown to their spirit of tolerance.

This anniversary occasion would be incomplete without a reference to St. Mary's Church and its faithful rectors, beginning with John Talbot, and to Burlington College and St. Mary's Hall. The latter, one of the oldest girls' schools in the country, the former distinguished for its remarkable growth, with three hundred students within two years from its foundation and its notable alumni, among them William Croswell Doane, Bishop at Albany, and one of the most distinguished of the Church. His father, Bishop George Washington Doane, was a resident Bishop here for twenty-seven years, his home the center of distinguished guests and civic and religious activities, himself a poet and hymn writer. His "Softly Now the Light of Day" and "Fling Out the Banner, Let it Float," a missionary appeal, will long keep his memory in the hearts of worshippers.

St. Mary's Church was started about 1703. Associated with it are the names of George Keith, the first Missionary under the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in

America and John Talbot, its first rector. Keith was a Presbyterian, a Quaker and afterwards a member of the Anglican Church, a vigorous disputant and proselyter whom the Bishop of Salisbury said was the most learned man that was ever in that sect. Talbot was the foster father of St. Mary's and he and Keith traveled through the colonies of the country from the Carolinas to New England in their missionary zeal.

The letters of these distinguished prelates are not altogether complimentary to the Quakers. Talbot says the Quakers compassed land and sea to make proselytes. They should be put in Bedlam, rather than suffer to go about raving and railing against the Church. Not content in their own territories of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, they travel with mischief all over the States as far as they can go, even as far as New England. There they stopped for they have prevented them by good laws and due execution, which meant their ears might be lopped off. The Quakers should have taken the hint.

Many of the earliest settlers were still active when St. Mary's was organized and she therefore walked with them as a helpmate in building a new common wealth and endured with them the struggles and hardships of colonial and pioneer life.

St. Mary's Church and her educational institutions have been the scene of many spiritual and civic occasions and anniversaries in this community, far reaching in their humanitarian, uplifting and educational advantages. It is an agency never to be forgotten in making Burlington City a center of distinction and a reputation as the mother of educational, spiritual and civil life. Its communion service is a witness to Queen Anne's generosity and in its grave-yard lie many distinguished characters, and many of the members of the early families of this section whose longevity indicated the hardy vitality of our earliest ancestors and the healthfulness of our surroundings.

A nobleman of Europe, proud of his ancestry once said

to a successful colleague who had risen from the ranks: "From whom are you descended?" to which the man of achievement replied, "I am not descended, I am the founder of a line of descendants."

Burlington City was the founder of ideas of toleration and liberty that have descended in the Constitution and representative government and it has a tradition of two and a half centuries of experience and achievement worthy of emulation.

It was a metropolitan center before Philadelphia. Its yearly meetings of Friends and convocations of Episcopalians from New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, its stately brick houses, commodious docks, the London and York bridges, the palace of John Tatham with its landscape gardens before the beginning of the eighteenth century, indicated culture and refinement and enterprise of the place. The annual meetings of the West Jersey Proprietors with Walter E. Robb as President, the Library, organized under Royal Grant, the manager of the Island administering the proceeds thereof for education, perhaps the earliest school fund ever established in America, 1682, are surviving function of a community that in its early days had the prophetic vision of the future.

Here came distinguished guests, here lived distinguished sons. Franklin the elder and his son the Governor of our State. Penn, whose holy experiment in government, like Washington's farewell address is still an inspiration; Bradford, Attorney General under Washington, Elias Boudinot, one time President of Congress, who with two other Presidents of that body, Jay and Laurens all came from a little spot near New Rochelle in France of Huguenot character; Governor Bloomfield, a captain in the revolution and Brigadier General in the war of 1812; Isaac Collins, a passing stranger, induced by the chance hospitality of the notable Smith family to settle in this place, afterwards the editor of the *New Jersey Gazette*, the organ of the patriots, a printer of the Holy Bible, the Burlington Almanac and pos-

sibly the first Continental money; Colonel Cox, commander of the forces in West Jersey, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the Province, the Provincial Grand Master of the Masonic Order of New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, possibly the first in the country. His father was an authority on chemistry and medicine, physician to Charles II and Queen Anne and one of the largest proprietors of West Jersey and the owner of the first pottery in Burlington; George Wood of whom Judge Elmer said "probably the ablest man New Jersey has produced"; Garret Dorsett Wall, General, United States Senator; John C. Ten Eyck, another United States Senator, Bishop Chas. F. McIlvaine of Ohio, distinguished in the Episcopal Church, was a Burlington boy, his father was United States Senator from 1823 to 1826, his grandfather was a Colonel in the Revolution. These were some of the sons by birth or adoption of this historic place.

The sturdy character and self control of Burlington's sons is illustrated by a visit of Penn to Governor Jennings. Burlington had three Quaker Governors. Penn on his way to his palace at Penn's Manor caught Jennings in the act of smoking, whereupon the Governor put his pipe behind him in concealment. Penn remarked. "I am glad you are ashamed of this habit." "Not so," said Governor Jennings, "We desist lest our Quaker brethren from Pennsylvania be overcome with temptation."

Jennings was a man of parts—a civic patriot. He crossed the Ocean to London to appear before the yearly meeting and contest the Keith controversy. He was a speaker of the Assembly after New Jersey became a royal province. He wrote the address to Queen Anne against the misrule of Lord Cornbury and received from Cornbury the epithet of the most impudent man that the latter ever knew. He had the most versatile mental endowments which were sanctified by the power of truth and he was eminently useful to his fellowmen.

Lawrence, whose "Don't give up the ship," is an inspira-

tion to every tar, and James Fenimore Cooper, whose name is a household word in literature and whose home is preserved by the Burlington County Historical Society, the first American novelist to create American material—should be added to the galaxy of Burlington's great men.

Pastor Stephen Grellet, the apostle of Burlington, a converted Quaker whose missionary and apostolic efforts were world-wide, followed the army of Napoleon through Europe, meeting the King of Prussia and of Russia, receiving a gracious audience with Pope Pius VII and preparing a small volume of Biblical excerpts which the Czar authorized, as the official text in the Russian schools and which was used in the schools of Philadelphia. A whole volume could be written upon the spiritual zeal, scholarship and energy of this distinguished man of God.

Dr. John Howard Pugh, a zealous supporter of Lincoln during the war, a distinguished physician with lovable personality, banker, financier and member of Congress.

Dr. Joseph Parrish originated the *New Jersey Medical Reporter* that became the journal of the profession through the country. On a visit to Rome, he called the attention of the Pope to the inhumanity and carelessness of some of the Roman Asylums, for which his holiness expressed his indebtedness to the young American and the evils complained of were corrected. He was inspector of the camps and hospitals around Washington during the war and visited the Union camps and hospitals in the South and West. In 1872 he appeared before a Committee of the House of Commons of England on the subject of inebriety and his recommendations were adopted by the English commission.

Dr. Jonathan O'Dell served Burlington in the capacity of rector of St. Mary's and as a physician at the same time.

Dr. Wills and Dr. Gosling were chemists and physicians. The former came over in the *Kent* and the latter probably prior to that time.

These all indicate the distinguished ability and character of the medical sons of Burlington.

We can not forget Henry Snowden Haines of later day memory, Surveyor General of West Jersey, of the West Jersey Proprietors, Grand Instructor of the Masons of our State, Mr. Haines was known from Sussex to Cape May. A descendant of the first settlers he was an authority on the early days of Burlington. Other names pass in review. It would require a volume to do justice to all of Burlington's sons and daughters of virtue, courage and fame.

Burlington felt the effect of wars. The Revolution tried the souls of the inhabitants. Between the presence of the Hessian troops under Colonel DuNop and the bombardment of the town by American gondolas and gunboats; between the Quakers who were neutral and those who bore arms and harbored soldiers, and were turned out of meeting, with the British almost in complete possession from Burlington to Trenton; with at times almost a total cessation of public worship, the fortunes of war bore heavily upon this peaceful colony.

New Jersey was the battle ground of the War of Independence and she poured out her blood and treasure in proportion to her wealth and population, more than any other of the colonies. The fury of the storm first burst upon her. She was enveloped in the darkest clouds of the contest and she saw the first gleam of a brighter day.

In the war for the Union the patriotism of the city invited the family of General Grant who lived here from 1864 to 1865.

The record of General Grubb—praised by his colonel at Fredericksburg, at Chancellorsville, always at the head of his regiment, hurrying to the defense of Gettysburg, one of Burlington's most chivalrous sons, is a national heritage Burlington contributed to the Union cause. This city gave to the armies of the north approximately 500 men, more than a third of the voters, an enlistment in proportion to the population unsurpassed by any other city in the state. Some of the boys from here were in the 6th N. J. that par-

ticipated in every engagement of the Army of the Potomac except Antietam.

In one Burlington company were three members of one family, John Spencer and two sons, all of whom gave their lives on the altar of the republic. Parker Grubb, honored in the title of a Grand Army Post, was one of the memorable martyrs of the Union cause. Other accounts of personal heroism that outdid the Knights of medieval days could be chronicled if time permitted.

The rescue of the colors at the second battle of Bull Run by Sergeant Connors with half a dozen Burlington boys, nearly every one of whom paid with life or wound for that act of sentimental daring.

The rescue of Noah E. Lippincott at the battle of Williamsburg by James Phillips and Charles Farner—"Young devils who didn't know what danger was," as their captain said, these are but single stars in a constellation of daring deeds on Burlington's scroll of martial fame.

Our story is too long for the patience of the ear but is all too brief to do justice to the theme.

We stand upon a scene of great historic importance from which sprang the finest fabric of government the world has known; upon the stage where dramatic incidents were enacted by characters whose brilliance, whose courage, whose devotion to the cause of humanity can only be portrayed by a Buckle, Hallam or Bancroft.

The valley of the Euphrates reared a civilization of splendor built upon the power of force and subjugation of the masses. The glory of Egypt with its pyramids, its sphinx, its obelisks and tombs, still telling their story to the world, was the pageant of the master and the slave. Greece had its art, philosophy, its culture, its physical prowess, but the individual was forgotten under the theory that the state owned the masses instead of the people owning the state. Imperial Rome held dominion from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, from the Pillars of Hercules to the Euphrates, and the title—I am a Roman citizen—was the high-

est distinction of honor that could come to a man. All these dropped from the zenith of supremacy to the nadir of despair and tell the unmistakable story of the decay of material things that are devoid of spiritual ideas.

Today we commemorate the kingdom of the higher life, founded by a group who wrote the love of Christ with humanity, forgiveness, charity and tolerance into the practices of every day life, who idealized the masses and made equality the corner-stone of liberty, who sang not of arms and might and glory but who disdained force and made love and righteousness the source of true power in this temple of justice. Here were planted the seeds of a new idea in government and civilization.

By common consent the fall of Constantinople is defined as the dividing line between the ancient and modern world when intellectual decadence rolled away and the Renaissance ushered in a new day. I venture to name another landmark in history as outstanding as any that have gone before—the Founding of Burlington—the dividing line between the old and the new humanity, between the old and the new ideas of government.

The Declaration of '76 is but a re-echo of the morning gun of freedom that the Quakers fired in their Concessions and Agreements.

The struggle for the Union that freed the slaves is but another onward step of the Quaker spirit of government, and the World War that over-threw the heredity of kings and the divine line of ancient emperors and autocrats is simply another chapter that followed inevitably upon the principles and ideals the Quaker folks established in this temple of the new freedom. Penn wrote, "We put the power in the hands of the people." There let it remain. Two hundred and fifty years have passed away. The voices of the early days are no longer vocal but Burlington, the historic mother of a better world and better hope for mankind still abides and the torch of Liberty, like the soul of John Brown, goes marching on!

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